

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6361

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USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MADRID 4364

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR SP US UK GI

SUBJECT: SPANISH DEMARCHE ON GIBRALTAR

REF: STATE 148857

1. FROM THE APPROACHES MADE BY LOPEZ RODO TO THE SECRETARY AT HELSINKI AND TO ME ON JULY 19, IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW INSISTENT THE SPANISH WILL BE ON US INTERVENTION TO CHANGE THE BRITISH STAND ON GIBRALTAR AS A CONDITION FOR GOS AGREEMENT TO RENEWAL OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT OR TO A PART OR PARTS OF IT. LOPEZ RODO'S APPROACHES BOTH TO THE SECRETARY AND TO ME WERE IN THE FORM OF ORAL REMARKS AS PART OF A GENERAL CONVERSATION. THE REMARKS TO ME, AS REFTEL NOTES, WERE MORE EXPLICIT THAN THOSE MADE TO THE SECRETARY BUT THEY STILL DID NOT SPECIFY UNAMBIGUOUSLY THAT US HELP ON THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE WAS A CONDITION FOR SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION OF RENEWAL OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT OR OF CONTINUED US USE OF FACILITIES AT ROTA. EVEN IF SUCH A CONDITION WAS SPECIFIED, THE DEGREE OF US HELPFULNESS ON THE  
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MATTER IS A SUBJECTIVE DETERMINATION WHICH THE SPANISH

COULD MAKE AS THEY SAW FIT.

2. AT THIS JUNCTURE, I BELIEVE THAT LOPEZ RODO'S APPROACHES ARE ESSENTIALLY A PROBING OPERATION, PART OF THE GOS EFFORT TO EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS OF PUSHING THE BRITISH TOWARD SOME ACCOMMODATION TO THE SPANISH CLAIM. IN A DOMESTIC CONTEXT, THEY MAY BE INTENDED ALSO TO DEMONSTRATE TO CRITICS OF THE GIBRALTAR POLICY OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT THAT THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION IS EXHAUSTIVELY PRESSING THE SPANISH CLAIM. US HELP TO THE SPANISH ON GIBRALTAR COULD OF COURSE BECOME AN EXPLICIT CONDITION FOR RENEWAL OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT OR SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF IT AS THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED. HOWEVER, I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT SPANISH INTENTION IS TO USE THE MATTER MORE AS A NEGOTIATING PLOY, IF THE PROBING OPERATION IS UNSUCCESSFUL, TO ENHANCE THEIR BARGAINING POSITION. THEY MAY CITE IT AS AN OBSTACLE TO FULL RENEWAL OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH MUST BE OVERCOME BY SOME QUID BUT I TEND TO DOUBT THAT THEY WILL PERMIT IT TO STAND IN THE WAY OF SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IF THEY ARE OTHERWISE SATISFIED WITH THE PROPOSED TERMS OF RENEWAL OF THE AGREEMENT.

3. LOPEZ RODO HAS GONE TO SAN SEBASTIAN FOR THE SUMMER STAY OF THE JORNADA. HOWEVER, I MADE THE POINTS IN PARA 1 REFTEL TO PRESIDENT CARRERO IN A CONVERSATION I HAD WITH HIM AUGUST 1, AND WILL REITERATE THEM TO LOPEZ RODO ON THE NEXT OPPORTUNE OCCASION. WHEN I MENTIONED TO CARRERO THAT LOPEZ RODO HAD INDICATED THE VIEW THAT THERE WOULD BE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR BASES AT BOTH ROTA AND GIBRALTAR, IF THE GIBRALTAR PROBLEM WAS NOT RESOLVED, CARRERO MADE A GESTURE TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS WAS NOT A SERIOUS IDEA AND COULD BE DISREGARDED. HE AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF GIBRALTAR AND ROTA ARE TWO SEPARATE MATTERS AND THAT OUR POSITION IN ROTA IS TO OUR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT IT IS A JOINT EFFORT CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEFENSE OF SPAIN. CARRERO'S REACTIONS TO MY COMMENTS SEEM TO SUPPORT MY ASSESSMENT IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

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